FIRST ANNUAL TARTU CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

Europe under Stress: The End of a Common Dream?

12–14 June 2016

University of Tartu, Estonia
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A Word from the Programme Committee

With this conference, the University of Tartu, in cooperation with the Uppsala University and the University of Kent, is inaugurating a new annual forum on Russian and East European studies. We envisage the Tartu Conference to be a venue for top-quality academic discussion of the fundamental social and political trends affecting all aspects of people’s life in Russia and Eastern Europe.

We initiated this project with the firm belief that Tartu offers an excellent location for a productive dialogue among scholars across multiple disciplines, from the region and beyond. We were excited to learn that this belief was shared by a vast number of our colleagues. The number of submissions exceeded our most optimistic expectations, and the quality certainly matched the quantity. As a result of rigorous selection, we have been able to put together a programme that reflects the variety of perspectives in East European area studies and offers insights into a broad range of issues – from semiotics to energy, from memory politics to hard security.

By the time the programme went to print in early June, 183 people had registered to attend. Convention participants arrive in Tartu from all over Europe, as well as from Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and the United States. We are particularly happy that the Convention has attracted a significant number of participants from Russia and the Eastern Partnership countries.

We would like to thank all participants for their innovative research, which resulted in such a great collection of panels. Special thanks must go to the chairs and discussants, who have undertaken, in addition to the other commitments they all have, to coordinate and to provide feedback on the work of their colleagues. It is our special pleasure and honour to welcome our plenary speakers, who have kindly agreed to share with us their thoughts on the difficult issues raised in the call for papers. Last but not least, we would like to express our appreciation of the generous support provided by the European Commission’s Horizon 2020 Twinning Programme and by the US Embassy in Tallinn.

It has been a wonderful and thoroughly enjoyable experience working on the programme with such a professional and diverse scholarly crowd. We look forward to the several days of intense discussions. We are also happy to announce that the Second Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies will take place on 2–4 June 2017. The call for papers will be published in the early autumn, but you are welcome to start thinking about your next Tartu paper already now.

Viacheslav Morozov
University of Tartu

Stefan Hedlund
Uppsala University

Elena Korosteleva
University of Kent
About UPTAKE

UPTAKE is a consortium of three partners – the University of Tartu (Estonia), Uppsala University (Sweden) and the University of Kent (UK) – in the field of Russian and East European Studies. The goal of the consortium is to increase research productivity and excellence at the three universities through a diverse programme of joint activities. The consortium builds on the work of multi-disciplinary research centres at each university:

- **Centre for EU-Russia Studies (CEURUS)** at the University of Tartu is a centre for scholars and students who share an interest in the evolving relationship between the European Union and the Russian Federation;
- **Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies (UCRS)** is an integrated multi-disciplinary long-term research programme with an in-depth focus on recent developments in Russia and in the post-Soviet space;
- **The Global Europe Centre (GEC)** at the University of Kent is a research centre focusing on Europe, its member states and its place in a changing world.

The Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies is the consortium’s main outreach event. It is the ambition of the consortium to establish the Tartu Conference as a regular, high-level forum for discussing the results of academic research focusing on politics and societies of Russia and Eastern Europe.

In addition to the Conference, UPTAKE organizes a variety of research workshops and meetings, as well as training schools for PhD and post-doctoral researchers. It offers mobility support for consortium scholars, facilitating joint research as well conference participation, and runs a guest lecture series that features renowned experts sharing their insights into topical issues in Russia and Eastern Europe.

The consortium is funded by the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 691818.
Invited Speakers

**Archie Brown** is Emeritus Professor of Politics at the University of Oxford, and Emeritus Fellow of St Antony’s College, Oxford. He is the author (or editor/co-author) of eighteen books, of which the most recent are *The Myth of the Strong Leader: Political Leadership in the Modern Age* (Vintage paperback, 2015) and *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (Vintage paperback, 2010). Professor Brown was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1991 and a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2003. He was appointed a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George in the Queen’s Birthday Honours List in 2005. He is the recipient of the Political Studies Association of the UK Diamond Jubilee Award for Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies (2010) and the Distinguished Contributions to Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Award of ASEEES (2015).

**Zsuzsa Csergö** is Associate Professor of Political Studies at Queen’s University, Canada. She is also President of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN). She specializes in the study of nationalism in contemporary European politics, with particular focus on post-communist Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). She is currently writing a book about the conditions of minority inclusion in new EU member states of CEE. Her first book, *Talk of the Nation: Language and Conflict in Romania and Slovakia* (Cornell University Press, 2007) focused on the impact of democratization and Europeanization on majority-minority contestations over language use. She has received a number of prestigious academic awards and fellowships, including the Sherman Emerging Scholar Award from the University of North Carolina (2005) and the Fernand Braudel Senior Fellowship from the European University Institute in Florence, Italy (2006).

**Philip Hanson** is Associate Fellow of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House, London, and Emeritus Professor of the Political Economy of Russia and Eastern Europe at the University of Birmingham. His books include an economic history of the USSR from 1945-91 and a study of patterns of regional economic change in Russia. Past appointments have been at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK, the UN Economic Commission for Europe, Radio Liberty and Michigan, Harvard, Kyoto, Södertörn and Uppsala universities. He is currently working on contemporary Russian economic policy and business-state relations in Russia.
Judith Pallot is Professor at the University of Oxford and Christ Church College and Fellow of the UK Academy of Social Sciences. She has been involved in teaching and research on the USSR and Russian Federation since 1979 and is the author of many monographs and articles, the most recent being (with Laura Piacentini) Gender, Geography and Punishment: The Experience of Women in Carceral Russia (Oxford University Press, 2012). She is currently President of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES).

Hans-Henning Schröder (1949) was academic director and head of the Russia/CIS Division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and Professor for East European Politics at the Free University of Berlin. He has also held positions at the Ruhr University Bochum, the Federal Institute for East European and International Studies, Cologne, and the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen. Since 2015 he has worked as a consultant for the German Foreign Office organising an Institute for Eurasian and Russian Studies in Berlin. His main fields of research are Russian politics, the role of élites in the Russian transition process after 1991 and Soviet/Russian defence and security policy. He is member of the board of the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), and co-editor both of the Russland-Analysen and the Russian Analytical Digest.
General Programme

Sunday, 12 June

17:00–19:30  Registration
Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Jakobi 2 lobby

18:30–20:30  Official opening and keynote speech
Ring Auditorium, Jakobi 2–226

Keynote speech
Prof Archie Brown, University of Oxford

20:30–22:00  Reception
White Hall of the University History Museum, Lossi 25
(by invitation only)

Monday, 13 June

8:30–18:00  Registration
Lossi 36

9:00–10:45  First panel session
Lossi 36

10:45–11:15  Coffee break

11:15–13:00  Second panel session
Lossi 36

14:30–16:15  Third panel session
Lossi 36
17:00–19:00  **Plenary roundtable**  
*University of Tartu Main Building, Ülikooli 18*

*Taking Stock of Disciplinary Developments in Russian and East European Studies since the Fall of the Berlin Wall*

[Zsuzsa Csergő](https://www.queenstown-halls.com/csergo.html), Queen’s University  
[Philip Hanson](https://www.chathamhouse.org/person/philip-hanson), Chatham House  
[Judith Pallot](https://www.ox.ac.uk/), University of Oxford  
[Hans-Henning Schröder](https://www.russiananalyticaldigest.com/), Russian Analytical Digest

19:00–22:00  **Reception**  
*University of Tartu Main Building, inner courtyard  
(by invitation only)*

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**Tuesday, 14 June**

9:00–10:45  **Fourth panel session**  
*Lossi 36*

10:45–11:15  **Coffee break**

11:15–13:00  **Fifth panel session**  
*Lossi 36*

14:30–16:15  **Sixth panel session**  
*Lossi 36*
## Schedule of Panel Sessions
*All sessions take place in the Faculty of Social Sciences building, Lossi 36*

### Monday, 13 June

#### First panel session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA1</th>
<th>Monday 09:00-10:45</th>
<th>Room: 103</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post-Cold War Intellectual History: Theorizing Coloniality and Authenticity</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: <strong>Epp Annus</strong>&lt;br&gt;Ohio State University and Estonian Literary Museum</td>
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<td>Theorizing the Russian identity in imperial science fiction&lt;br&gt;Mikhail Suslov&lt;br&gt;Uppsala University</td>
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<td>Cyclical History and the Post-Soviet Condition&lt;br&gt;Kåre Johan Mjör&lt;br&gt;Uppsala University</td>
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<td>How Postcolonial Subjects Walk on Eggshells: Finlandization Reconsidered&lt;br&gt;Sanna Turoma&lt;br&gt;University of Helsinki and Academy of Finland</td>
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<td>From Petrinism to Reformism: Reflections on a Conceptual Shift in the Russian Government’s Civilisational Discourse&lt;br&gt;Fabian Linde&lt;br&gt;Uppsala University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discussant: <strong>Viacheslav Morozov</strong>&lt;br&gt;University of Tartu</td>
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<tr>
<th>MA2</th>
<th>Monday 09:00-10:45</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Challenges to Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: <strong>Fabienne Bossuyt</strong>&lt;br&gt;Ghent University</td>
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<td>Testing EU Democratization Effects: Varieties of Democracy in Eastern Europe, pre-1940 and post-1990&lt;br&gt;Vello Pettai&lt;br&gt;University of Tartu</td>
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<td>Corruption in Eastern Europe: A Challenge to a Common European Home?&lt;br&gt;Kelly McMann&lt;br&gt;Case Western Reserve University</td>
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<td>Explaining the emergence of Populist Radical Right Parties in Latvia and Estonia, 2010-2015&lt;br&gt;Ann-Cathrine Jungar&lt;br&gt;Södertörn University&lt;br&gt;Peteris Timofejevs Henriksson&lt;br&gt;Södertörn University&lt;br&gt;Anders Backlund&lt;br&gt;Södertörn University</td>
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<td>Contentious Politics in the Baltics: The ‘new’ wave of right-wing populism in Estonia&lt;br&gt;Vassilis Petsinis&lt;br&gt;European Commission’s Representation in Greece</td>
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<td>Discussant: <strong>Leonid Polishchuk</strong>&lt;br&gt;Uppsala University</td>
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<td>Monday 09:00-10:45</td>
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<td><strong>Western wife, Eastern lover: the politics of preference in Slovak national politics</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Revisiting Polish-Russian Relations from the World-Systems Perspective</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Between Russian kin and Russian World: The contradicting goals of Russia's foreign policy</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Memory: Institutions and Politics</strong></td>
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# Tartu University as an Observatory Upon Europe & Russia

**David Ilmar Lepasaar Beecher**  
University of California Berkeley

**Discussant:** Olaf Mertelsmann  
University of Tartu

## Second panel session

**MB1**  
**Monday**  
**11:15-13:00**  
**Room: 214**

**The International-Domestic Nexus on Transitional Justice: Insights from Russia and CEE**

Chair: Siobhan Kattago  
University of Tartu

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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
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| Bounded Sovereignty: The Emerging Nexus of Domestic and International Influences in Post-Communist Truth and Justice Politics | Eva-Clarita Pettai  
Vello Pettai | University of Tartu          |
| Transitional Justice-Foreign Policy Nexus: The International Implications of Russia's Political Handling of its Communist Past | Maria Mälksoo | University of Tartu |
| The Right to Truth and Access to Archives: Russia’s Obligations in Light of the Evolving Interpretation of the ECHR | Ilya Nuzov | University of Geneva |
| Post-Communist Holiday Legislation as Part of Governmental Politics of History: The Case of the Russian Federation | Stefan Troebst | University of Leipzig |

**Discussant:** Siobhan Kattago  
University of Tartu

**MB2**  
**Monday**  
**11:15-13:00**  
**Room: 215**

**Authoritarian Governance and the Politics of Protest**

Chair: Sofie Bedford  
Uppsala University

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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Institution</th>
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| Business-state relations and strategic deinstitutionalization under autocracy: the case of Russia | Ivan Grigoriev  
Kirill Zhirkov | National Research University Higher School of Economics  
University of Michigan |
| Vote Brokers, Clientelist Appeals, and Voter Turnout in Russia | Ora John Reuter  
Timothy Frye  
David Szakonyi | Case Western Reserve University  
Columbia University  
Columbia University |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Institution(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contesting Fraud: The Effect of Vote Protests and Trusted Leadership in Post-Election Protest</td>
<td>Regina Smyth</td>
<td>Indiana University</td>
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<td>Deoffshorization Law: Political Perspectives in Putin's Russia</td>
<td>Maria Amoroso</td>
<td>University of Naples “L'Orientale”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discussant: <strong>Kelly McMann</strong></td>
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<td>Case Western Reserve University</td>
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<tr>
<td>MB3</td>
<td>Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 104</td>
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<td>Translation 2: Translatability and Hermeneutic Challenges</td>
<td>Chair: Julie Hansen</td>
<td>Uppsala University</td>
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<td>Translation as Inter / Intra Cultural Hermeneutics</td>
<td>Olga Demidova</td>
<td>Leningrad State University and European University at St. Petersburg</td>
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<td>Filling Different Gaps in the Literary System: Russian and Dutch Cases of Pseudotranslation in the 1920s</td>
<td>Piet Van Poucke, Michel De Dobbeleer</td>
<td>Ghent University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discussant: <strong>Daniele Monticelli</strong></td>
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<td>Tallinn University</td>
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<tr>
<td>MB4</td>
<td>Monday 11:15-13:00 Room: 304</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russia’s Revolt Against the West? Studies of Contemporary Russian Political Discourse</td>
<td>Chair: Dorota Kołodziejczyk</td>
<td>Wroclaw University</td>
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<td>Ideas of Carl Schmitt? An Analysis of Russian Conservative Discourse in the Twenty-first Century</td>
<td>Sergei Akopov</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg</td>
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<td>The dark side of cooperation? The EU, Russia and a new sphere of influence</td>
<td>Iain Ferguson</td>
<td>Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Saint Petersburg</td>
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<td>Particularist, Universalist, Anti-European: Russian Discourse on Humanitarian Cooperation in the CIS</td>
<td>Natalia Morozova</td>
<td>National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod</td>
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The End of “Gayropa”? Gendered Discourse in Russian Media’s Representations of the EU
Tatiana Riabova  Ivanovo State University
Oleg Riabov  Ivanovo State University

Discussant: Maria Raquel Freire
University of Coimbra

MB5  Monday  11:15-13:00  Room: 306
Russia, the Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union: Legal, Political and Economic Perspectives
Chair: Koen Schoors
Ghent University

The Eurasian Economic Union – an EU-like legal order in the post-Soviet space?
Maksim Karliuk  National Research University Higher School of Economics

Reconciling the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eurasian Economic Union: Towards a Pan-European Legal Space?
Peter Van Elsuwege  Ghent University

Central and Eastern European perceptions of the Eurasian Economic Union: fears of renewed Russian hegemony?
Fabienne Bossuyt  Ghent University

Impact of the economic sanctions applied by Russia on EU imports
Bruno Merlevede  Ghent University
Koen Schoors  Ghent University

Discussant: Chris Miller
Yale University

MB6  Monday  11:15-13:00  Room: 103
Impact of Municipal Reforms on Local Community Development in Russia
Chair: Susanna Rabow-Edling
Uppsala University

Policy Implementation in Russia: the Local Perspective
Ann-Mari Sätre  Uppsala University
Leo Granberg  University of Helsinki

Organization of Political Life on Subnational Level: Local Political Practices and Institutions
Andrey Semenov  Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies
Irina Shevtsova  Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies
Contracting out social services and decentralizing public sphere: explaining regional and municipal variations
Anna Tarasenko National Research University Higher School of Economics

Discussant: Jouko Nikula
University of Helsinki

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<th>MB7</th>
<th>Monday 11:15-13:00</th>
<th>Room: 307</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia and its post-Soviet allies: current state of relations and possible future cooperation</td>
<td>Aliya Tskhay University of St Andrews</td>
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Standing on the middle ground: Evolving partnership between Kazakhstan, Russia and the EU after Ukranian crisis
Aliya Tskhay University of St Andrews

Case study on the ‘two Moldovas’: “All roads lead to…Rome?”
Nina Lutterjohann University of St. Andrews

An Increasingly Uneasy Alliance: Russia-Armenia Relations in the Age of Falling Oil Prices
Mikayel Zolyan Regional Studies Center, Yerevan

Understanding Russian Position on Syria: Geopolitical Ambition or Domestic Necessity?
Daria Vorobyeva University of St Andrews

Discussant: Mark Kramer
Harvard University

Third panel session

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<tr>
<th>MC1</th>
<th>Monday 14:30-16:15</th>
<th>Room: 307</th>
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<tr>
<td>Translation 3: Projecting the West through Translation</td>
<td>Piet Van Poucke Ghent University</td>
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Mikhail Lozinskii, Dante and the Soviet Myth of the Translator
Susanna Witt Uppsala University

Translating Children’s Poetry in the Soviet Era: Strategies of Rewriting and Adaptation
Maria Khotimsky Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Sartre Sovieticus: Jean-Paul Sartre in Soviet Russia
Charlotte Bollaert  Ghent University

Discussant: Olga Demidova  Leningrad State University and European University at St. Petersburg

MC2  Monday  14:30-16:15  Room: 306

Economic Aspects of International Relations in Eurasia
Chair: Judith Pallot  University of Oxford

Why Russia’s Economic Leverage is Declining
Chris Miller  Yale University

The Eurasian Economic Union, Its Actual and Potential Members: Is There a Capability-Expectations Gap?
Artem Patalakh  University of Milan

BRICS: does political cooperation have positive impact on bilateral trade?
Raul Toomla  University of Tartu

B/Order Dynamics in Georgia-Russia and Georgia-EU Economic Relations
Lela Jamagidze  Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Discussant: Peter Van Elsuwege  Ghent University

MC3  Monday  14:30-16:15  Room: 103

Imperial Legacies and Populust Politics
Chair: Sanna Turoma  University of Helsinki and Academy of Finland

Varieties of Imperial Legitimacy: The Case of Russia
Joseph MacKay  Columbia University

Europe as counter-discourse? The postcolonial backlash in the Polish government rhetoric
Dorota Kołodziejczyk  Wroclaw University

Neo-Eurasianism vs. Neo-Ottomanism? Nationalism and Geopolitics in Postimperial Russia and Turkey
Igor Torbakov  Uppsala University

Russian Transformism and Subaltern Social Groups in the Ukrainian Crisis
Maksim Kulaev  European University at St. Petersburg

Discussant: Natalia Morozova  National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod
### MC4 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 215

**Russian Foreign and Security policies: domestic shift and external implications**
Chair: Natasha Kuhrt  
King's College London

- **Habits versus crises – interpreting Russia’s Security policy**  
  Aglaya Snetkov  
  ETH Zurich

- **Contesting boundaries, political entities and scales of regulations: Making and governing Eurasia**  
  Stephen Aris  
  ETH Zurich

- **The return of the Russian state: Russian foreign policy and growing state capacity in the energy sector**  
  Ingerid Opdahl  
  Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies and Norwegian Defence University College

- **Strategic narratives in the Middle East and their impact on the development international system**  
  Holger Mölder  
  Tallinn University of Technology and University of Tartu

Discussant: Natasha Kuhrt  
King's College London

### MC5 Monday 14:30-16:15 Room: 104

**Resistance and empowerment: The EU and the challenges of the Eastern Partnership**
Chair: Camille Merlen  
University of Kent

- **Exploring the EU’s security governmentality: The case of visa diplomacy in the Eastern Partnership**  
  Igor Merheim-Eyre  
  University of Kent

- **In reform we trust? What the ENP review can mean for EaP democratic reforms in Ukraine and Moldova**  
  Ryhor Nizhnikau  
  University of Tartu

- **Economic diplomacy within the Eastern Partnership: room for meaningful improvements through ‘othering’?**  
  Miruna Beldiman  
  University of Kent

- **Differentiation through bargaining power in EU-Azerbaijan relations: Baku as a tough negotiator**  
  Eske Van Gils  
  University of Kent
Costs and benefits of lustration in Ukraine
Yuliya Zabyelina  John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Discussant: Piret Ehin
University of Tartu

**MC6**  Monday  14:30-16:15  Room: 305

**Political Opposition and Political Mobilisation in Eastern Europe**
Chair: Leonid Polishchuk
Uppsala University

**Opposition Without Revolution: A New Look at ‘Failed Opposition’ in Azerbaijan and Belarus**
Sofie Bedford  Uppsala University
Laurent Vinatier  Uppsala University

**Political Opposition Beyond the Capital: Oppositional Alliances In Russian Regions**
Andrey Semenov  Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies

**Forgetting “Ploshcha”: Quest for Alternative Concepts for Analysis of Belarusian Activism**
Vasil Navumau  Uppsala University

Discussant: Olena Podolian
Södertörn University

**MC7**  Monday  14:30-16:15  Room: 214

**Que reste-t-il de nos amours? The expectations of 1989-1991 revisited**
Chair: Maria Raquel Freire
University of Coimbra

The end of the European honeymoon: the refugee crisis, statelessness and the right to have rights
Siobhan Kattago  University of Tartu

**The Expectations of 1989-1991 Revisited: an Autoethnography**
Marcos Farias Ferreira  University of Lisbon

To Whom Belongs History? Retrofitting the Past in Post-Soviet Russia, Estonia and Georgia
Francisco Martinez  Estonian Academy of Arts

Discussant: Tiina Kirss
University of Tartu
Tuesday, 14 June
Fourth panel session

**TA1**  
Tuesday 09:00-10:45  
Room: 103

**Translation 4: Ideology, Tradition and the Market**  
Chair: Susanna Witt  
Uppsala University

**Literature of World Revolution as/vs World Literature: an Editorial and Translation Project**  
Elena Ostrovskaya  
National Research University Higher School of Economics

**Russian Classics in Estonian Translation during the 1950–1960s: Ideology and Poetics in the Translations of Nikolai Leskov**  
Ljubov Kisseljova  
University of Tartu

Lea Pild  
University of Tartu

**Translation as a Means of Soft Power: Translating Soviet Non-Fiction from Russian into Finnish**  
Hannu Kemppinen  
University of Eastern Finland

Discussant: Roman Ivashkiv  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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**TA2**  
Tuesday 09:00-10:45  
Room: 304

**Russian Reforms: Problems of Implementation**  
Chair: Viacheslav Morozov  
University of Tartu

**An accident at the crossroad: how Russian (de)centralization influenced the social benefit reform in 2005**  
Andrey Starodubtsev  
University of Helsinki

Viktoria Poltoratskaya  
National Research University Higher School of Economics

**Administrative reform in Russia: comparative role of officials, civil society and expert community**  
Alexander Sungurov  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

Daniil Tinyakov  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg

**Open Government Policy in Russia: National and Regional Dynamics**  
Yurii Kabanov  
National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg
Russia’s High-Technology Industries: A Post-Neoliberal Development Strategy for an “Industrial Breakthrough”
Anna Lowry University of Helsinki

Discussant: Marina Khmelnitskaya
University of Helsinki

TA3 Tuesday 09:00-10:45 Room: 305

Legacies of the Yugoslav Conflicts
Chair: Julie George
Queens College and City University of New York

The End of the Post-Yugoslav Settlement
Timothy Less University of Cambridge

The role of symbolic capital in shaping the separatists’ strategies – the case of Bosnia and Ukraine
Bogdan Zawadewicz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg

Discussant: Vassilis Petsinis
European Commission’s Representation in Greece

TA4 Tuesday 09:00-10:45 Room: 306

Youth, Education and Social Inclusion in Russia and Eastern Europe
Chair: Kristina Kallas
University of Tartu

Attitudes about Success: Can Economic Transformation and Instability Influence Youth Values?
Marianna Klochko Ohio State University, Marion

Minority education in East-Central Europe: demands and justifications
Anna Kyriazi European University Institute

Institutions and allocation of talent: evidence from Russian regions
Leonid Polishchuk Uppsala University
Timur Natkhov National Research University Higher School of Economics

Does higher education contribute to the change in attitudes towards government price control in Russia?
Maksym Bryukhanov National Research University Higher School of Economics

Discussant: Andrey Semenov
Center for Comparative History and Politics Studies
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**Do Institutions Really Matter? Reflections on Transition, Color Revolutions and Western Interventionism**  
**Stefan Hedlund**  
Uppsala University

**Revolution, External Intervention, and Civil Conflict: The Maidan Upheavals and Their Impact on Russian Policy toward Ukraine**  
**Mark Kramer**  
Harvard University

**The Intersection of National Identity Politics and Orthodox Church Dynamics in the Ukraine Crisis: Political and Ecclesiastical Vectors of Change**  
**Jerry G. Pankhurst**  
Wittenberg University

**Russia’s View of Ukraine After the Crisis**  
**Giovanna De Maio**  
Università degli Studi di Napoli L’Orientale

Discussant: **Natalia Chaban**  
University of Canterbury, New Zealand

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**Italy’s Russia policy: squaring the ‘special relationship’ with Euro-Atlantic commitments**  
**Marco Siddi**  
Finnish Institute of International Affairs

**The Russia factor and its influence on the foreign policies of four Central-Eastern European member states**  
**Cristian Nitoiu**  
London School of Economics

**Finnish–Russian relations: Strategic tensions, new dependencies**  
**Toivo Martikainen**  
Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Discussant: **Stefano Braghiroli**  
University of Tartu
**TA7**

**Tuesday 09:00-10:45** Room: 215

**Bringing human rights and justice home: Experiences from Estonia, Lithuania and Russia**

Chair: Lauri Mälksoo

University of Tartu

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**Russia’s Changing Attitudes towards International Criminal Justice: is there a Way Forward?**

Gleb Bogush

Lomonosov Moscow State University

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**Broken Human Rights Perception in Russia: After Crimea**

Maria Issaeva

Threefold Legal Advisors LLC, Moscow

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**From commitment to compliance: Implementation of LGBT rights in Lithuania and Estonia**

Ausra Padskocimaite

Uppsala University

Kerttu Mäger

University of Tartu

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**Russia, Europe, and the Prisoners’ Voting Rights Issue: a Minor Pretext for a Major Standoff**

Grigory Vaypan

Institute for Law and Public Policy and Moscow State University

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Discussant: Bill Bowring

University of London

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**Fifth panel session**

**TB1**

**Tuesday 11:15-13:00** Room: 214

**Russian Foreign Policy (Making)**

Chair: Anthony (Tony) M. van der Togt

Clingendael Institute

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**Status, power or both? Russia’s foreign policy after Ukraine**

Maria Raquel Freire

University of Coimbra

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**Speaking Truth to Power? Knowledge, Expert Networks and Russian Foreign Policy Making**

Alexander Graef

University of St. Gallen

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**Alaska in Modern Russian Geopolitical Rhetoric**

Andrei Znamenski

University of Memphis

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Chair: Karine Åkerman-Sarkisian  
Uppsala University |
| **Time, Sleep and Death in Pelevin’s “Sleep” and its English translation: Ways of Interpreting Realia, Allusions and Time Movement**  
Anastasia V. Urzha  
Moscow State University |
| **Images of Translation in Contemporary Russian Fiction**  
Julie Hansen  
Uppsala University |
| **Thinking Translation through Georgii Danelia’s Osennii Marafon: Run, Buzykin, Run**  
Roman Ivashkiv  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign |
| Discussant: Maria Khotimsy  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology |

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Chair: Maria Mälksoo  
University of Tartu |
| **Identity and Violence: Bringing Ethnicity Back in the Debate**  
Nino Kemoklidze  
University of Birmingham |
| **Working for interethnic dialogue: NGO driven participatory model for social agriculture in rural Hungary**  
Ildikó Asztalos Morell  
Uppsala University |
| **Nation-building and regional identities in Ukraine**  
Valentyna Romanova  
Institute for Strategic Studies “New Ukraine”, Kiev  
Olena Podolian  
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| **Ethnicity and political (de)legitimization in Belarus: The case of Alexander Lukashenko**  
Anastasiya Astapova  
University of Tartu |
| Discussant: Ryhor Nizhnikau  
University of Tartu |

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Chair: Bruno Merlevede  
Ghent University |
## Energy sector reform in Ukraine (2014-2016)
**Eugenia Gusilov**  
Romania Energy Center (ROEC)

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**Similar goals, divergent motives. The enabling and constraining factors of Russia’s Renewable Energy Policy**

**Niels Smeets**  
KU Leuven

Discussant: **Raul Toomla**  
University of Tartu

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**Status Seeking or Interest in Democracy Promotion in the Eastern Partnership States? Lithuania’s Foreign Policy Toward Ukraine**

**Gerda Jakstaite**  
Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas

**Ausra Park**  
Siena College, NY

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**Promoting democracy through new media? Polish media assistance in Ukraine**

**Aleksandra Galus**  
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

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**Invested in Ukraine: The Struggle of Lithuania against Russia Over the Future of Europe**

**Dovile Jakniunaite**  
Vilnius University

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**Fatal Attraction: Ukraine, EU Soft Power and the Capability-Expectations Gap**

**Kristian L. Nielsen**  
Copenhagen Business School

Discussant: **Stefan Hedlund**  
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**Systemic Transformations and the Management of Secessionist Bids: Kosovo, South Caucasus, Crimea**

**Eiki Berg**  
University of Tartu

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**More harm than good? The pernicious influence of self-determination on international legal order**

**Ciarán Burke**  
Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena
Military intervention and self-determination of minorities: a few recent cases
Aleksandar Pavković  Macquarie University, Sydney

Sovereignty and Self-determination: Probing the Conceptual Foundations and Practical Ramifications of R2P
Eva Piirimäe  University of Tartu

Discussant: Iain Ferguson
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Saint Petersburg

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<td>Barbara Lehbruch  Uppsala University</td>
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Is EP a Normal Parliament: Gauging MEPs Polarity When Russia Is Concerned
Anna A. Dekalchuk  National Research University Higher School of Economics
Aleksandra Khokhlova  University of Tartu

Crisis Talks in Russia and Germany: The Framing of the Ukraine Crisis on Political Talk Show Debates
Dennis Lichtenstein  Zeppelin University Friedrichshafen
Katharina Esau  Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf
Lena Pavlova  North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk
Dmitry Osipov  North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk
Nikita Argylov  North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk

Discussant: Vlad Vernygora
Tallinn University of Technology

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Mass Literature as Indicator of Social Vectors in Modern Russia
Maria Galina  Novy Mir Magazine, Moscow
Arkady Shtypel  Independent researcher, Moscow
Contemporary Russian cultural policy: explicit discourse and implicit practice  
Tatiana Romashko  Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, St. Petersburg

Metamorphoses of the legend of the Antichrist in post-Soviet Russia  
Magda Małgorzata Dolińska-Rydzek  Justus-Liebig University in Giessen

From Attraction to Retraction and Its Artistic Consequences: The Russian Case  
Helena Goscilo  Ohio State University

Discussant: Julie Hansen  
Uppsala University

TC2 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 214

Russian (Un)Civil Society in the Age of Politicization  
Chair: Vello Pettai  University of Tartu

“Les Miserables”: comparative biographies of Ukrainian and Novorossiyan militia commanders  
Andrey Shcherbak  National Research University Higher School of Economics

Politization through Elections 2011-12: Prospects for Civil Society in Russia  
Margarita Zavadskaya  European University Institute, Fiesole

Consultative bodies in Russian politics: in search of theoretical framework  
Dmitry Goncharov  National Research University Higher School of Economics

The failed cooptation of local government: The case of Petrozavodsk  
Mikhail Turchenko  National Research University Higher School of Economics

Discussant: Marianna Klochko  
Ohio State University, Marion

TC3 Tuesday 14:30-16:15 Room: 104

Secessionist Conflicts and Their Consequences  
Chair: Andrey Starodubtsev  University of Helsinki

Transnistrian conflict in the context of the policy of the European Union: points of contacts and contradictions  
Anatoliy Dirun  Moscow Institute of Business and Law, Tiraspol

Unintended Consequences: State Governance, Secessionist Movements, and Instability in Georgia and Moldova  
Julie George  Queens College and City University of New York
De Facto States – A European Challenge: Russian and European Policies in the Case of Abkhazia
Sebastian Relitz
Institut for East and Southeast European Studies

Discussant: Timothy Less
University of Cambridge

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Sovereignty: How Russia Sees Itself, Its Neighbours, and the World
Camille Merlen
University of Kent

Russia and the WTO: Beyond Sovereignty
Camille Merlen
University of Kent

Crisis Modernisation: How Crises Strengthen Economic Institutions in Russia
Rabekah Everett
University of Kent

Sovereignty and World Order: The Russian Perspective
Zachary Paikin
University of Kent

The Baltic States and the “New” Geopolitics of European Security Order
Eoin Micheál McNamara
University of Tartu

Discussant: Cristian Nitoiu
London School of Economics

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Political Transformation Under Control: The President’s Electoral Support in the Republics of the Russian Federation
Tatiana Tkacheva
European University at St. Petersburg

How the multilevel elite loyalty strengthens electoral authoritarianism: Evidence from the gubernatorial elections in Russia
Elena Sirotkina
National Research University Higher School of Economics

Local Self-Government Reform in Russian Regions 2003-2015: Factors of Mayors’ Survival
Pavel Kononenko
St. Petersburg State University
Kristina Gushchina
Independent researcher

Discussant: Ora John Reuter
Case Western Reserve University
TC6  Tuesday  14:30-16:15  Room: 306

Conflicting Perspectives on Security and Geopolitics
Chair: Andres Kasekamp
University of Tartu

Response to Changing Geopolitical Situation: Subjective Perception of External Threats
Eglė Vileikienė
Institute for Social Innovations,
Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania and General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy

Dutch perspectives on prospects for Europeanisation of Russia
Anthony (Tony) M. van der Togt
Clingendael Institute

Contestation, confrontation, counter-action: Collective identity constructions and perceptions of security in the South Caucasus
Susanne Szkola
University of Kent

Discussant: Dovile Jakniunaite
Vilnius University

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Identities and Rights in Contemporary Russia
Chair: Bernard Maegi
Normandale Community College

Identity, Home and an Imagined Future: Russian Women Migrants and Nationalism. ‘Chto Deylat?’ (What is to be Done?)
Shubhra Nagalia
Ambedkar University, Delhi

The European initiatives in fight against racism in Russia and Baltic States
Elena Eltc
Saint-Petersburg State University

‘Burden for Society’ or ‘Unique Experience’?: Constructing New Identity of Disabled People in Today’s Russia
Elena Nosenko-Stein
Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences

Discussant: Andrei Znamenski
University of Memphis
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*Venue for the roundtable and reception on 13 June*

2. Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Jakobi 2  
*Venue for registration, opening and keynote speech on 12 June*

3. History Museum of the University of Tartu, Lossi 25  
*Venue for the reception on 12 June*

4. Faculty of Social Sciences, Lossi 36  
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